

Message Text

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PAGE 01 BONN 02714 01 OF 02 191939Z

72

ACTION EUR-25

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 531

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY OSLO

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 BONN 2714

CITE: (A) VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL; (B) GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: NATO, GW, PFOR

SUBJECT: MINISTER SCHEEL SPEECH AT THE WEHRKUNDE CONFERENCE

SUMMARY

SCHEEL'S SPEECH AT THE FEBRUARY 16-17 WEHRKUNDE MEETING IN MUNICH WAS A LENGTHY TOUR D'HORIZON OF THE FRG'S VIEWS ABOUT A VARIETY OF PROBLEMS. SCHEEL SEEMS TO HAVE BROKEN NO NEW GROUND, BUT HIS STATEMENT IS A GENERAL REVIEW OF MOST GERMAN THINKING ABOUT CURRENT DEFENSE AND SECURITY ISSUES. AMONG OTHER THINGS, HE NOTED THAT MANY

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PAGE 02 BONN 02714 01 OF 02 191939Z

ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS CONFRONT THE EUROPEANS IN ORGANIZING A

STRONGER EUROPEAN DEFENSE COMPONENT. HE ALSO WARNED AGAINST A LET-DOWN IN DEFENSE EFFORTS AND CALLED FOR STRENGTHENING THE ALLIANCE. MAJOR POINTS FOLLOW. END SUMMARY.

1. EUROPEAN UNION

SCHEEL THOUGHT THE GENERAL COURSE SET FOR EUROPEAN UNION IN 1980 WAS CORRECT. THE UNION, HE NOTED, WOULD HAVE A FEDERAL STRUCTURE AND ENJOY BROAD AUTHORITY OVER A VARIETY OF COMMERCIAL, FISCAL, CURRENCY AND TAX POLICIES. WIDE SCOPE WILL, HOWEVER, REMAIN FOR THE EXERCISE OF INDEPENDENT RESPONSIBILITIES BY THE MEMBER STATES; A BALANCE MUST BE STRUCK BETWEEN THE POWERS OF THE UNION AND ITS MEMBERS. FRG POLICY TOWARD FORMING THE UNION WILL REMAIN FLEXIBLE. SCHEEL SAID: "WE SEE NO POINT IN ARGUING ABOUT THE METHODS OF CONSTRUCTING EUROPEAN UNION...MANY ROADS LEAD TO ROME AND TO EUROPE. IN THE FIELD OF FOREIGN POLICY IN PARTICULAR NO ONE SHOULD BE MADE TO FEEL THAT HE IS BEING PRESSED FOR DECISIONS THAT WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO HIS VITAL INTERESTS."

2. FRAMEWORK OF DEFENSE COOPERATION

STEPS TOWARD FORMING A COMMON EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY MUST BE LINKED TO DEFENSE AND SECURITY POLICIES. EVEN IF A COMMON SECURITY POLICY IS STILL NOT ACHIEVED BY 1980, IT SHOULD HAVE A BINDING SHARPE SHORTLY THEREAFTER. OBSERVING THAT ORGANIZATIONAL PROBLEMS CONFRONT THE EUROPEANS, SCHEEL SAID THAT NATO IS THE MOST IMPORTANT LEVEL OF DEFENSE COOPERATION. HOWEVER, THE EC IS ONLY A GROUP OF EIGHT OR SEVEN IN NATO; IRELAND IS NOT A MEMBER AND FRANCE IS NOT INTEGRATED MILITARILY. THE WEU, BECAUSE OF ITS PARLIAMENTARY ELEMENT, OFFERS A DEMOCRATIC BASIS FOR COOPERATION, BUT ONLY SEVEN OF THE NINE EC STATES ARE MEMBERS. EUROGROUP IS IMPORTANT, BUT FRANCE IS NOT A MEMBER AND IN ITS PRESENT FORM IT COULD NOT LEAD THE WAY TO A EUROPEAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION.

3. ON THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A EUROPEAN DEFENSE SYSTEM AND NATO, SCHEEL WAS EMPHATIC. " THE BUILD-UP OF A EUROPEAN DEFENSE SYSTEM SHOULD NOT LOOSEN THE TIES WITHIN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE...THE FORMATION OF A COMMON DEFENSE POLICY WITHIN THE COMMUNITY WILL NEITHER WEAKEN NATO NOR RENDER IT SUPERFLUOUS...NATO WILL REST ON TWO SOLID PILLARS...IT WILL BE STRONGER THAN BEFORE." EFFORTS IN UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 BONN 02714 01 OF 02 191939Z

THE FIELD OF ARMAMENTS WILL MAKE FOR GREATER RATIONALITY IN EUROPEAN POLICY. ARMAMENT COOPERATION IS ONE OF THE MAIN THEMES OF FRG'S BILATERAL RELATIONS TO FRANCE AND THE FRG'S COOPERATION IN THE EUROGROUP. "CLOSE COOPERATION IN THIS FIELD WILL CREATE FOR THE NINE THE BRIDGE THEY NEED BETWEEN A COMMON INDUSTRIAL POLICY AND A COMMON DEFENSE POLICY."

4. STRATEGY AND NUCLEAR WEAPONS

SCHEEL NOTED THE FRG LEARNED FROM THE MLF EXERCISE THAT CONTROL OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS INDIVISIBLE AND THAT NO GOVERNMENT WILL SURRENDER EVEN PART OF ITS ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. PROBLEMS OF NUCLEAR CONTROL EXIST BOTH BETWEEN THE EUROPEANS AND THE US, AS WELL AS AMONG THE EUROPEANS THEMSELVES. THE FRENCH AND BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCES MUST, NEVERTHELESS, BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN ANY EUROPEAN DEFENSE SYSTEM, EITHER WITHIN THE ALLIANCE OR WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A EUROPEAN UNION.

5. SCHEEL CLAIMED ONE THING WAS CERTAIN: FRENCH AND BRITISH NUCLEAR FORCES CAN ENHANCE THE DETERRENT EFFECT OF THE ALLIANCE, ONLY ON THE BASIS OF A CLOSE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S IT WAS MOREOVER IMPORTANT THAT AN EVENTUAL EUROPEAN DEFENSE ORGANIZATION WITH A NUCLEAR CAPACITY SHOULD BE FITTED INTO NATO SO THAT DIVISIVE FORCES WILL NOT BE STRENGTHENED; RATHER THE INTER-DEPENDENCE OF THE US IN EUROPE SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED.

6. BASIC US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS

QUESTIONS OF US-EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIPS NEED NOT AWAIT A EUROPEAN UNION. TALKS CAN BEGIN NOW AMONG THE MEMBERS OF THE EC AND LATER BETWEEN THEM AND THE US. SCHEEL SAID: "PUTTING THIS IN LEGAL TERMS, I WOULD SAY THAT THESE PROBLEMS CAN ONLY BE SOLVED SATISFACTORILY BY A EUROPEAN UNION WHICH, BY THE PRINCIPLE OF THE SUCCESSION OF STATES, WILL TAKE THE PLACE OF THE EUROPEAN NATION STATES IN THE FIELDS OF FOREIGN AND DEFENSE POLICY". RECOGNIZING THAT UNDIMINISHED MILITARY SECURITY REMAINS THE BASIS FOR EUROPEAN STABILITY, SCHEEL CALLED FOR RE-ENVIGORATING THE ALLIANCE AND RE-THINKING DEFENSE ISSUES. HE ADMITTED THAT STEPS TOWARD A EUROPEAN UNION COULD LEAD INTO FRICTIONS IN THE ALLIANCE. THIS, HE IMPLIED, WAS INEVITABLE FOR THE PROBLEM CANNOT BE APPROACHED IN STATIC TERMS.

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 01 BONN 02714 02 OF 02 191947Z

72

ACTION EUR-25

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UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 BONN 2714

7. NATO ALLIANCE

SCHEEL OBSERVED THE ALLIANCE IS SHOWING SIGNS OF FATIGUE AND CALLED ATTENTION TO THE DRIFT TAKING PLACE IN DEFENSE MATTERS TODAY. "THE EUROPEAN ALLIES ARE RELAXING THEIR EFFORTS. THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS IS PRESSING FOR A REDUCTION OF AMERICAN FORCES IN EUROPE. ...PUBLIC OPINION IS AFFECTED IN ITS SUPPORT OF THE DEFENSE EFFORT BY TOO OPTIMISTIC EXPECTATIONS OF DETENTE." IN COMPARISON, THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES ARE MAKING GREAT ECONOMIC SACRIFICES FOR THE SAKE OF THEIR ARMAMENT EFFORTS AND IN NUCLEAR WEAPONS THE SOVIET UNION HAS CAUGHT UP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND IN SOME RESPECTS EVEN OVERTAKEN IT. "ATT THE SIGNS OF LATE ARE THAT THE MILITARY SCALES HAVE TILTED TO THE DISADVANTAGE OF THE ALLIANCE.
UNCLASSIFIED

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 BONN 02714 02 OF 02 191947Z

BUT ONCE THE BALANCE HAS CRUMBLED, EUROPE WILL BE DRAWN INTO THE MAGNETIC FIELD OF ITS EASTERN POLE, THE LINES OF WHICH CAN ALTER THE SITUATION IN WESTERN EUROPE EVEN WITHOUT THE NEED FOR ARMED CONFLICT."

8. SCHEEL WENT ON TO CALL FOR REACTIVATION OF THE ALLIANCE IN SEVERAL WAYS. THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNION COULD BE LINKED WITH THE ALLIANCE IN SUCH A WAY THAT THE AUTONOMOUS CHARACTER OF A FUTURE EUROPEAN FOREIGN POLICY WOULD NOT BE IMPAIRED AND BOTH EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES WOULD BE RE-ENVIGORATED. US AND EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP MIGHT BE RE-DEFINED. TECHNICAL MEASURES, SUCH AS ARMS RATIONALIZATIONS AND COOPERATION, MIGHT BE INTRODUCED ALONG WITH, IF POSSIBLE, BETTER BURDENSARING. ALSO, JOINT EFFORTS TO REACH AGREEMENTS ON ARMS LIMITATION AND RESTRAINT IN THE POLITICAL USE OF MILITARY POWERS MUST BE REACHED.

9. MBFR, SALT

IN A DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, SCHEEL BROKE NO NEW GROUND. HE GAVE A SOMBER APPRAISAL TO CURRENT SALT TALKS, OBSERVING THAT THE CURRENT SOVIET TEST PROGRAM FOR MRIVS IS A THREAT TO THE STRATGIC BALANCE. NOTING THAT THE TALKS DIRECTLY AFFECT THE SECURITY OF EUROPE, HE SAID THAT THEY WOULD RECEIVE CLOSE ATTENTION IN NATO AND THE FRG WOULD URGE MORE INTENSIVE CONSULTATIONS ON THEM.

10. HE ALSO SAID THERE WAS NO CAUSE FOR OVER-OPTIMISM ON MBFR TALKS. HOWEVER, GROUNDS FOR SOME OPTIMISM EXIST IN THAT NONE OF THE EUROPEAN STATES CONSIDER WAR AS A FEASIBLE WAY OF ACHIEVING THEIR POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. HOWEVER, SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS PRESUPPOSE AN INTACT ALLIANCE. MBFR TALKS CAN ONLY BE SUCCESSFUL IF CONDUCTED IN CLEAR CUT PHASES IN WHICH THE EFFECTS WILL BE CALCULABLE. MEANWHILE, THE NUMERICAL SUPERIORITY OF THE WP GROUND FORCES AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL ADVANTAGES OF THE USSR ARE CAUSES OF POTENTIAL INSTABILITY. ANY FURTHER SHIFT IN THE MILITARY BALANCE TO THE DETRIMENT OF NATO WOULD HAVE A DESTABILIZING EFFECT. HE ALSO URGED CAREFUL ASSESSMENT OF ONGOING EAST-WEST TALKS WITH A VIEW TO JUDGING THEIR EFFECTS ON EUROPEAN UNIFICATION. "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY PRIMARILY DEPENDS ON THE POLITICAL WILL OF THE GOVERNMENTS AND PEOPLES OF ITS MEMBERS, BUT THE GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO ENSURE THAT EAST-WEST NEGOTIATIONS

UNCLASSIFIED

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PAGE 03 BONN 02714 02 OF 02 191947Z

DO NOT HAVE THE OPPOSITE EFFECT."
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